/141 cont./
of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their villages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then establishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni, such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agricultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/142 cont./
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circumstances because with their lower population density they are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system practiced from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the [464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

/509 cont./
October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim was the sociological study of these populations.

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans. These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study, number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïston, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress; certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult, the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowledged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

125 /517 cont./

We believe the ages are determined with a probable error of less than two years for persons less than 30 years old, two to three years for persons between 30 and 60 years old, and three years above 60. But this error has no systematic character, and one may assume that it is eliminated on the average, disturbing the calculations of fertility and of mortality very little.

[161] [162] Census, age pyramids. The census finished on 1 January 1958 included 811 persons, of whom 666 were from villages on the French bank and 145 on the Surinam bank (Kotika). With regard to the latter, we interrogated them individually when they came over to the French side, particularly when they came to attend the celebrations of the end of mourning at Boniville in November 1957. Temporary absentees (less than 5%) were placed by information provided by their nearest relatives. /518/ /Diagram 1 appears here./

We estimate the omissions in the census at less than 2%. These omissions are almost exclusively a matter of adolescents and young orphans or youngsters raised by persons other than their own parents.

[167] Emigration and immigration are very slight, practically zero as far as the women are concerned. Thus the age pyramid really represents the demographic situation of the Boni and lends itself to complementary calculations of mortality.

Interrogation of the women. The women of the villages on the French bank were questioned about the children they had had and lost. An effort was made to place the dead children in relation to the survivors and in relation to the local chronology. The age of the dead ones was determined by comparison with children or adolescents living at the time of the inquiry.

For the dead adults an attempt was made to fix the year of their death in relation to the local chronology.

/518 cont./

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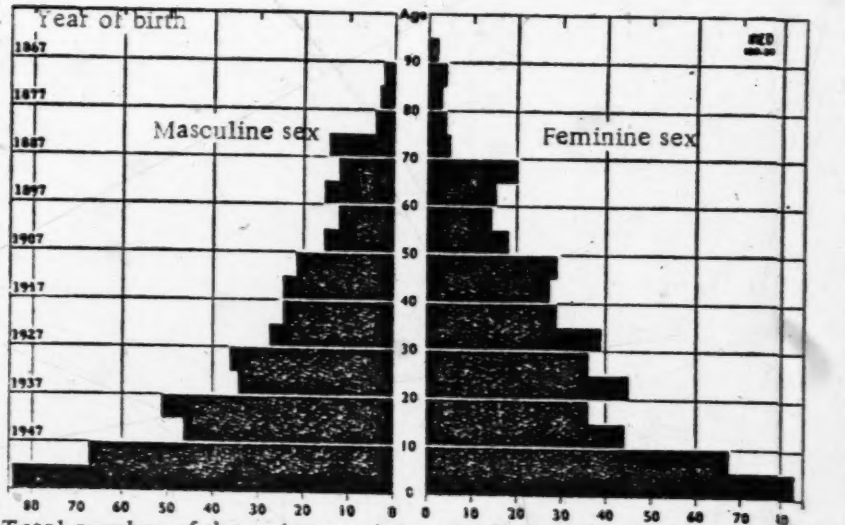

Total number of the quinquennial groups (For a total population of 1000)

Total number of the quinquennial groups (For a total population of 1000)

Diagram No. 1. Boni Refugee Blacks of the Upper Maroni

Age Pyramid on 1 January 1958

125 We gave up the idea of deducing the number of stillborn infants from the mortality tables, in order to facilitate comparison with the Indian populations where this distinction would not have been possible. We took account of all the children born at term.

For greater certainty we questioned the women twice at an interval of one year (end of 1956 and end of 1957). Those who gave contradictory answers were eliminated. /519/

[162] On 1 January 1958 the women from the villages on the French side born up until 1939 inclusive and married for at least one year were 216 in number, including in that number 17 women from the village of Kotika residing temporarily on the French side; 198 were questioned.

/524 conr./

165 Factors influencing the demographic characteristics of the Boni. Life expectancy at birth for the Boni is not only 12 years higher than that of the Indians, but is also considerably higher than that of the African peoples from which they came.

This fact can be attributed to two causes:

164 1. The Boni live in a more salubrious environment than
182 the African forest and have better living conditions. It seems likely that the Guianese forest, apart from malaria, presents few causes of bad health and is relatively favorable to man; the absence of trypanosomiasis permits men /525/ to gather on the banks of the large rivers, generously exposed to the air and to the light. The small number of the Boni and their dispersion over a vast territory stands in the way of the transmission of diseases by drinking water. In fact the water is generally healthy. Dysentery and parasitosis are considerably rarer and less serious than in Africa;

14 2. The Boni are a selected population. This is a very im-
● 162 portant aspect of their demography.

The slaves were the object of a systematic selection; the purchasing commissions of the rich colony of Surinam allowed only individuals of good health and constitution to pass. A second selection took place at the time of the formation of the tribes of Refugee Blacks. More than from a massive rebellion the rebel groups increased in size by the addition of those who, from year to year, escaped at the peril of their lives. Without any doubt those who preferred combat to servitude were the most vigorous and bravest. Voluntary migrations have always been a factor of selection: one may suppose that a migration which took place in such circumstances was accompanied by a particularly rigorous selection which, in spite of the time which has passed (eight generations), continues to influence the physiological
[734] characteristics of the Refugee Blacks. Notably it can explain
[157] the vigorous constitution of the Boni (there are only two congenital invalids out of 810 persons) and their exceptional qualities of physical courage and initiative.

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[For further information concerning the socio-demographic composition of each of the Boni villages, see category 116, pp. 478-539.]

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601

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614

[For further information concerning the lineage/sib organization and membership of the Boni, with associated data on age, sex, and ethnic affiliations, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

B 487 501 505

/8 cont./ The Pirogues of the Refugee Blacks, carrying a useful load of from 1,000 to 2,000 kilograms, are the normal means for provisioning the placers and European settlements of the Interior. The use of outboard motors on these small boats tends to become more general, but navigation remains difficult and dangerous and the Refugee Blacks continue to draw the essential part of their resources from these trips. /Fig. 1 appears here./

/9/ Populations

B F 162 648

The Maroni Basin is relatively populated if it is compared with the rest of Guiana. The population includes three human groups which are very different from one another and have absolutely no tendency to merge although they maintain friendly relations.

F 101 177 F 144

1) Creoles. This is the name of the colored persons who lead a life with individual characteristics and have adopted European forms of life in part, by contrast to the Refugee Blacks who live in tribes under the command of chiefs. African blood is dominant in the Creoles, especially among the gold miners.

F 131 361 161 463

In 1958 there were no more than about 800 Maroni Creoles, almost all gold miners or traders, grouped principally around the little Surinam mining center of Benzdorp; very small villages of gold miners are scattered along the principal tributaries of the Maroni, notably the Abounami, the Great and the Little Inini, the Waki.

F 167

The Maroni Creoles are nearly all foreigners, the great majority originally from the British West Indies, more specifically from Santa Lucia and Barbados; there are very few among them from the French West Indies or the Guianas.

F 197

All speak dialects with a French base, very close to one another but rather different from the very special patois of the

F 233 433 /10 cont./ Since about ten years ago Creole exploiters without any outside aid have built up a herd of several hundred head, principally with an eye to the provisioning of the mining center of Benzdorp. F [508] The existence of an airodrome and regular air connections permits envisaging the export of meat to the coast. The success of animal F 233 raising in the Upper Maroni seems to be attributable to a rainfall [132] lower in total amount than on the coastal strip but better distributed, [311] as well as to the nature of the soil. It is principally on the floodable alluvial strip bordering the river to a width of 500 to 600 meters that cattle find the most favorable conditions, taking refuge on the neighboring hills during the three weeks of annual inundation.

F [461] Winning pastures from the forest and defending them against [464] the encroachment of the bush represents continual work, but it can be carried out on the Maroni far better than on the coast, thanks to the man power of the Refugee Blacks.

F [433] One cannot yet come to a conclusion on the profitableness [435] of this animal raising. Like many other enterprises in Guiana it is handicapped by its too high cost price which prevents effective competition with imported products.

B 101 2) The populations of the Maroni, descending from rebel slaves of the 18th century, who are often called Refugee Blacks, are divided into three tribes: the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the B 197 Boni, whose customs are practically identical and whose dialects are very close. These dialects are variations of Taki-taki, vehicular language derived mainly from English, whose use was widespread in the time of slavery and which has become the national language of Surinam.

B 162 131 The Paramaka, 700 to 800 in number, occupy the lower part of the course of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina) to the junction with Béiman Creek. They are not navigators but B 433 464 farmers and foresters, who furnish highly prized man power for the enterprises of the Saint-Laurent region.

/10 cont./

●162 131 361 [103] The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston, Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages founded more recently are established on the lower course of the 563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been disturbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory 178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the [181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 361 [162] [161] [648] [619] The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands, penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing villages in it.

433 648 [464] [465] [178] [166] [182] For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in exchange for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the European work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the interior cohesion of the tribes.

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here./ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
[619]

The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

/17 cont./

162 103 361 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi, Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 182 [175] These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment to the ground. [171] It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nēnge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress of a lineage. [613] On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called Aluku. [175] [103] This name has been used since the origin of the tribe; indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nɛ̃nge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔ̃pani nɛ̃nge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
62 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
57 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
1761)

/40 cont./

125 [123] In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend [166] [736] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 per- [162] sons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we [765] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less [128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were [126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

/41 cont./

125 [128] We estimate the gaps in the census at less than 3 per cent. These gaps involve essentially the adolescents and young people orphaned or raised by others than their parents.

[648] The adults over 35 years old were practically all known individually to us. Children under 10 years could be counted very exactly thanks to the distribution of milk carried out since 1956 by the Maripasoula medical center.

125 128 162 Classification. The classification of the population was made by village of residence.

For each woman we have indicated her successive unions and the children who issued from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ✱ divorce, the sign †† means that the husband is deceased but after the break-up of the union.

The listings for women preceded by an asterisk * indicate that they can be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete with regard to successive marriages and divorces (2).

2. We avoided asking directly these questions to which the women replied unwillingly. The information was obtained indirectly by questioning brothers and husbands. It could be obtained complete for only about 30 per cent of the women.

/42/

125 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type
128 once where he can be considered as habitually residing.
162 Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the
128 age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general
[115] they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

[165] Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that
[613] Kuluba, the ancestress of the Awara Bakka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure,
128 and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

/43 cont./

114 613 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 601 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 551 601 162 [101] Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[648] [123] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 609 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 128 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

1441

BONIVILLE

Legend

N°		House of		N°		House of	
1	△	Difu grand man	Dikan	31	○	Pélui	P1, F34
2	△	Dodoya	Dip. I, F82	32	△	Gonisutu (2nd house)	
3	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	33			
4	△	Fintiman	Dju, F6	34	△	Baafu	L2, E58
5	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7	35	○	Lomé	L2, F74
6	○	Eliana	Dju, F8	36	○	Térésa	L2, E57
7	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	37	△	Amakti	L2, F71
8	△	Doni	Dju, G13	38	△	Monpé	1. Poti
9	△	Lota	K3, E142	39	○	Abooméki	
9(a)	△	Booki	K3, E133	40	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7
10	○	Mimi	K3, E156	41	○	Amékiwan	1. Poti
11	○	Lémiki	K3, D130	42	○	Léya	K2, F99
12	△	Tofioto	K3, E157	43	○	Paata	1. Poti
13	△	Lébiman	K3, D132	44	○	Chima	1. Poti
14	○	Achiké	K3, E140	45	○	Lésina	K2, F69
15	○	Sooto	K3, E142	46	△	Todo	K2, F68
16	○	Maka	K3, E146	47	○	Awini	K1, E37
17	○	Marta	K3, F140	48	△	Todo	K2, F68
18	○	Waway	K3, E130	49	△	Noël	Dip. I, F83
19				50	△	Kallawa	1. Poti
20	○	Afiimgi	K3, D120	51	○	Bada	Dip. I, F1
21	○	Akyènki	K3, E144	52	△	Madéko	K2, E69
22	△	Makalanchi	K3, F130	53	○	Amanichi	Dip. I, F7
23	△	Sintamann	K3, E145	54	○	Cécilia	Dip. I, E9
24	△	Asékéyé	P1, G25	55	△	Dyakata	Dip. I, E4
25	△	Bukuman	P1, F32	56	△	Alichi	Dip. I, F5
26	○	Apinda	P1, G96	57	○	Asumé	Dip. I, F2
27	△	Gonisutu	P1, G64	58			
28	○	Alasani	P1, F34	59	○	Léya	K2, F99
29	△	Bénanu	P1, G61	60	△	Todo	K2, F68
30	△	Nanga	P1, G31				

Total on January 1, 1958: 116 persons, including 43 children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

Adult inhabitants whose residence in Boniville is not normal: none.

The members of the small Poti lineage, founded about 50 years ago by a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Ochi†, have normal residence here through their foundress. No Djuka, Saramaka, or Paramaka lives in Boniville.

/46/

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

Legend

N°		House of		N°		House of	
3	○	Djalufu	Dip. I, E8	25	△	Famblèn	Dip. I, E62
6	△	Kasun (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. I, E3	26	○	Asuwèntina	K2, E73
				25, 29	△	Daméni	Dip. I, E47
8	△	Biani	Dip. I, F76	30	○	Anusa	Dip. I, E48
9	○	Saumè	Dip. I, E53	31, 32	○	Towéchi	Dip. I, F64
10	△	Tabayé	Dip. I, F73	33	△	Malpa	Dip. I, F52
11	○	Saumè (2nd house)		34	△	Babun (2nd house)	
13	○	Abéna	Dip. I, D38	36	○	Aséli	Dip. I, F60
14	△	Polou	Dip. I, F77	37	○	Efina	Dip. I, E44
15	△	Toli	Dip. I, D44	38	○	Ansu	Dip. I, G50
16	○	Mata	Dip. I, F80	39	○	Musinga	Dip. I, F51
17	△	Abagon	Dip. I, E35	41	○	Apensa	Dip. I, F54
19	△	Bayamati	Dip. I, E55	42	○	Kodja	Dip. I, F55
20	△	Simon	Dip. I, F78	43	○	Saayé	Dip. I, F56
21	△	Manku	Dip. I, F75	45	○	Péechina	Dip. I, E42
22	△	Bobun village head	Dip. I, D40				

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asuwèntina 1926, raised by her father Famblèn, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Yomi 1930, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Afoondo 1935, raised by his father Koniman in Loka, stayed there

○ Baïkom 1924, raised by her father Malobi in Loka, stayed there

○ Méchi 1922, raised by her father Kodio in Loka, stayed there

○ Noko 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka

○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Popo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

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Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

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Legend

Loka Village

N•		House of	
1 4	○	Bito	L1, D2
3	△	Télon	L1, E3
2 5	○	Tolti	L1, E1
6	△	Pikinbaala	L1, E2
7	○	Totouman	L1, F1
8	△	Dooté	L1, E10
9	○	Baïkom	Dju, F10
11	△	Abété	
12	△	Malobi	Dip. I, E50
13	○	Alapu	L1, D9
14	○	Apiéku	L1, E7
15	○	Yaana	L1, E39
16	○	Madu	L1, E41
17	△	Topo	L1, E40
18	○	Chii	L1, D24
19	○	Koko	L1, E42
20	△	Ayaubédé	L1, E37
21	○	Mayon	L1, F27
22	○	Saléni	L1, E25
23	○	Kayé	L1, F26
24	△	Tingo	L1, F25
25	○	Awenkina	L1, D23
26	○	Paako	L1, E29
27	○	Do	L1, F35
28	○	Akomédi	L1, F34
29	○	Méchi	Aw. B.1, E27
30	○	Balansi	L1, F37
31	○	Mémé	L1, E34
32	○	Akuba	L1, E30
33	△	Akwadé	L1, E22
34	○	Ondi	
35	△	Pwen	L1, E33
36	△	Koniman	L1, E31
37	○	Akuba	L1, E30
38	○	Afuyéti	L1, F38
39	△	Afoondo	Aw. B.1, F56
40	○	Mélita	L1, E32
41	○	Abiaman	L1, F39
42	○	Téké	L1, F44
43 44	△	Tamu	L1, F32
45 46	△	Fosé	L1, F33
47	△	Somié	L1, E24
48	△	Popo, head of the village	L1, E23

[622] →

Lapé Tabiki Village

N•		House of	
1	○	Asamani	L1, D15
1a		Manntau	L1, E20
2		Tabiki†	
3	△	Butu	DJUKA
4	△	Sofé	L1, D13
5	○	Twa †	L1, E14
6	○	Asoïda †	L1, C11
7	○	Kama	L1, E15
8	○	Adoimba	L1, E17
9	△	Maaten	L1, E18
10	△	Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○	Yundu † 1957	L2, G60
12	○	Asakundu	L2, E55
	○	Angisa	L2, F61
13	△	Anato	L2, G61

Total on January ., 1958: [illegible] persons of whom 64 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

6:Hurault--71 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/50/

Asisi Village--Dju Quarter

Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Fraga	Dju, F18	25	○ Paana	Dju, G2
2	△ Loko	Dju, F39	26	○ Téodora	Dju, G40
3	△ Sosoman	Dju, E14	27	○ Pikè	Dju, F28
4	△ Fraga (2nd house)		29	○ Dabisa	Dju, G45
5	△ Tyolo	Dip. II, F48	30	△ Yaka	SAR.
6	△ Wènu	Dju, F38	31	△ Soalufu	Dju, G42
7			32	○ Aliki	Dju, E23
8	△ Koniami	Aw. B.1, G1	33	○ Maria	Dju, F11
9	○ Yéèchi	Dju, F3	34	△ Achiké	Dju, F13
10	○ Wima † 1957		35	○ Félicia	Dju, G41
13	△ Féni	Dju, G3	36	△ Bernardin	K1, D60
14	△ Adliso, village head	Dju, F37	37	△ Achiké (2nd house)	
15	○ Pamasa	Dju, E26	38	○ Dachini	Dju, F16
16	○ Buba	Dju, G1	39	○ Adyidya (2nd house)	
17	○ Aguba	Dju, G14	40	○ Kukusa	Dju, F40
18	○ Sara	Dju, E27	41	△ Faawé	Dju, F19
20	○ Ata	Dju, F2	42	○ Ursüla	Dju, D3
21	○ Adyidya	Dju, E19	43	○ Wima † (2nd house)	
22	○ Lènga	Dju, F36	44	○ Diana	Dju, E9
23	○ Sara (2nd house)		45		
24	○ Tini	Dju, F1	46	○ Baawè	Dju, E13

Total on January 1, 1958: 67 persons of whom 24 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is not normal:

△ Koniami 1935, raised by his father among the Dju, stayed there afterward;

△ Tyolo 1919 idem

△ Yaka 1870, old Saramaka moved in with his wife Aliki;

△ Bernardin 1885, raised by his father among the Dju where he took a wife;

○ Afaïla 1930, raised by her father among the Dju, stayed with her brother by the same father Féni.

Total: 5 persons, of whom one is raising a child.

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[622]

Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

N°		House of		N°		House of	
1	△	Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○	Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△	Kondoku, village head	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△	Empalé	DJUKA
3	○	Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	32	△	Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
4	○	Mani	1. Afi, d12	33	○ / △	Agyasu her husband Maliki,	L2, F64
5	○	Paniki	1. Afi, d13	34	○	Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△	Awéni	1. Afi, c12	35	○	Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△	Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○	Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○	Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○	Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△	Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○	Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○	Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△	Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△	Matapi	1. Afi, c3	40	○	Chitaïna	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△	Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○	Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
13	△	Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○	Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
14	○	Kuluba † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○	Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○	Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△	Maïna	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○	Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○	Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○	Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○	Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△	Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△	Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○	Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○	Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○	Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	△	Bésu	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○	Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○	Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△	Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○	Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○	Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○	Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△	Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○	Soéfi	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△	Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△	Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○	Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△	Baakaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○	Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○	Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△Empalé 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Pééyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Maïna.

Total: 3 persons.

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Papaïston Village

Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	○ Bèlfi	P1, F19	18	○ Kumata	P1, G1
2	○ Oben	P1, E13	19	△ Sawen	P1, F7
3	○ Dodo	P1, F11	20	○ Emilia	P1, F3
4	△ Yusu	P1, E16	21	△ Galmo	P1, F15
5	○ Kamen	P1, E14	22	○ Hélèna	P1, F2
6	○ Agodéuman	P1, F10	23	○ Gou	P1, F8
7	○ Mili	P1, F20	24	△ Afay †	
8	○ Donasi † 1957	P1, E35	25	○ Puti	P2, F71
9	○ Asenten	P1, E10	26	○ Ondi	P1, F49
10	○ Aduudu	P1, H61	27	○ Atipay	P1, F47
11	△ Tafonié, village head	P1, E12	28	○ Dopi	P1, G40
12	△ Tolinga	P1, E11	29	△ Agodéba	P1, E1
13	○ Efa	P1, D4	30	○ Toïna	1. Toïna
14	△ Aguundé	P1, F4	31	○ Apuulobi	1. Toïna
15	△ Dudu	P1, F18	33	△ Apuyu	1. Toïna
16	○ Kokoyo	P1, F9	34	○ Bèndya	P1, F12
17	○ Wilèlmina	P1, F1	35	△ Mangoto	P1, F20

Total on January 1, 1958: 83 persons, of whom 36 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

No outsider to the lineage lives in the midst of the Papaïston; the members of the Toïna lineage live isolated at the southern end of the village.

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Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128] [361] We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/57/

621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 [613] Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 670 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse. [162] [621]

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping; the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Bakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 571 621 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipélu I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among these villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Boniville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on [162] [621] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 571 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 571 591 613 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 571 162 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni country during the past 50 years: /59/

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 619 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 [283] [613] Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters.

/80/

241 423 425 613 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner) creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an imprescriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1953 (E5), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 571 425 423 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality. [162] This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

/99/

182 161 241 423 613 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their institutions.

182 Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 621 184 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence villages.

241 621 361 162 613 The farming habitations we are going to study more especially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons belonging to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïton lineages. Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 184 621 [361] [162] On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be compared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/125 cont./

553 613 [178] [162] Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64, or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's classificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	-
Name taken from among the child's classificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

[551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately the name given by the father and that given by the mother, which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the individuals are designated by a single name; either the father and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names fell into disuse after the child's early years.

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Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Average	Spread
1896 to 1915 incl.	—4/1/—1/8/2/—3/—2/7/3/22/9/—3/2/—11/19/17/11/11/21/5/3/1/1/3/2/6/20/16/—2/8/	+5.8 years	—1 to +22 years 22 out of 29 husbands are older than their wives
before 1896	2/0/3/10/—10/—5/5/—2/10/—8/8/0/5/5/.	+1.5 years	—10 to +8 years 8 out of 14 husbands are older than their wives

[587] As the man and woman advance in age, this average age difference of six years is maintained in the course of successive [162] remarriages until old age. It decreases then only by the effect of demographic factors, the proportion of women in the higher age brackets being greater and greater.

162 Out of 37 women over 60 years of age in the Boni villages on the French bank, only 14 were married; all the others had been widows or divorcees for a long time.

/151 cont./

593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Butu and his wife Asamani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had
[581] eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce. that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

• 162 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in
595 the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/155/cont./

586
162

Women born from	0 Div.	1 Div.	2 Div.	3 Div.	4 Div.	Irregular Life	Total
1926 to 1935 incl.	13	8	8	0	0	2	31
1916 to 1925 incl.	9	7	10	1	0	3	30
1896 to 1915 incl.	1	12	6	3	0	1	23
before 1896	3	9	5	1	2	(?)	20
						Total....	104

/156/ Supposing that divorces are regularly spaced through the course of life, and that they cease at about the age of 65 on the average, one can arrive at an estimate of the average number of divorces in store for a Boni woman at old age.

Women born from	Average Age End 1957	Average No. Divorces	Probable No. by Age 65
1926 to 1935 incl.	27 years	0.8 in 10 years(1)	3.8
1916 to 1925	37 years	1.0 in 17 years	2.8
1896 to 1915	52 years	1.5 in 32 years	2.1
before 1896	70 years		1.5 (?)

[582]

1. The average age at marriage is 17 for this group of women, 20 for the earlier groups.

/157 cont./

586 If one considers all Boni women together without any age distinctions, one can estimate that on the average they have been divorced 2.5 times during the course of their lives between 18 and 65 years of age. The average duration of marriages (not counting unions broken by the death of one of the spouses) could be evaluated, for the period before 1950, at about 15 years.

[178] It tends to decrease in proportion as a generation brought up under less strict discipline reaches adulthood (1).

1. Doctor Étienne Bois, revising in September, 1960 our card file stopped at the end of November, 1958, recorded for the villages on the French bank 28 divorces which had taken place in the course of this period of 1.8 years. The number of women of marriageable age in these villages being about 160, this figure corresponds to 0.1 divorce per woman and per year, or to an average duration of unions of about 10 years.

• [162]

[837] Dissoluteness of the women. It appears that most wives are faithful to their husbands for the duration of the union. But since they have the possibility of breaking this union with no need of authorization by anybody whatever, they leave their husband very readily, whether they have stopped liking him or whether they intend to marry a richer man.

/214 cont./

562 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among
787 women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including
776 about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10
787 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumẽnti, 1 Bunsunki, and 2 Ampuku.

791 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age,
787 but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that
561 women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very
562 unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is past?

787 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipẽlu II lo, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumẽnti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

787 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of pos-
789 session become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In
824 order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of Obiaman who hold dry palms, pina tɔŋgo, in their hands and utter adjurations.

/297 cont./

648 which in Black Africa has so powerfully contributed toward the destruction of traditional structures.

[829] Truth to tell, the problem was simpler, for the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, involving no form of oppression of individuals and assuming the right of the woman to self-determination, reduce to the vanishing point the sources of disputes between individuals and groups.

• [162] In 1946 the administrative post of Maripasoula was created, near the confluence of the Lawa and the Inini. Since that time, the gendarmerie has administered to the satisfaction of all and without any incident a heterogeneous population of 2,000 persons, gold miners, Refugee Blacks, and Indians, scattered over [743] a vast territory. The medical post created at Maripasoula in 1949 is very much frequented by the Boni and performs an extremely useful function on the psychological as well as on the social level.

The relations of the various groups give rise to very small frictions, one with another, but the Refugee Blacks never give occasion for intervention in the internal affairs of their groups. [505] Respectful of the administration, they carry out punctually their commitments to their employers, insuring all the transport on the river according to a modus vivendi established for a long time (1).

609

> On this subject it is to be noted that disagreeable incidents occur each time the Boni deal with inexperienced travelers who do not know the customs of the river or do not wish to apply them. In a general way the Refugee Blacks, of their own accord respectful of anyone who comes to do a useful job, loathe tourists; they cannot stand being photographed or observed like queer animals.

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
,Boni

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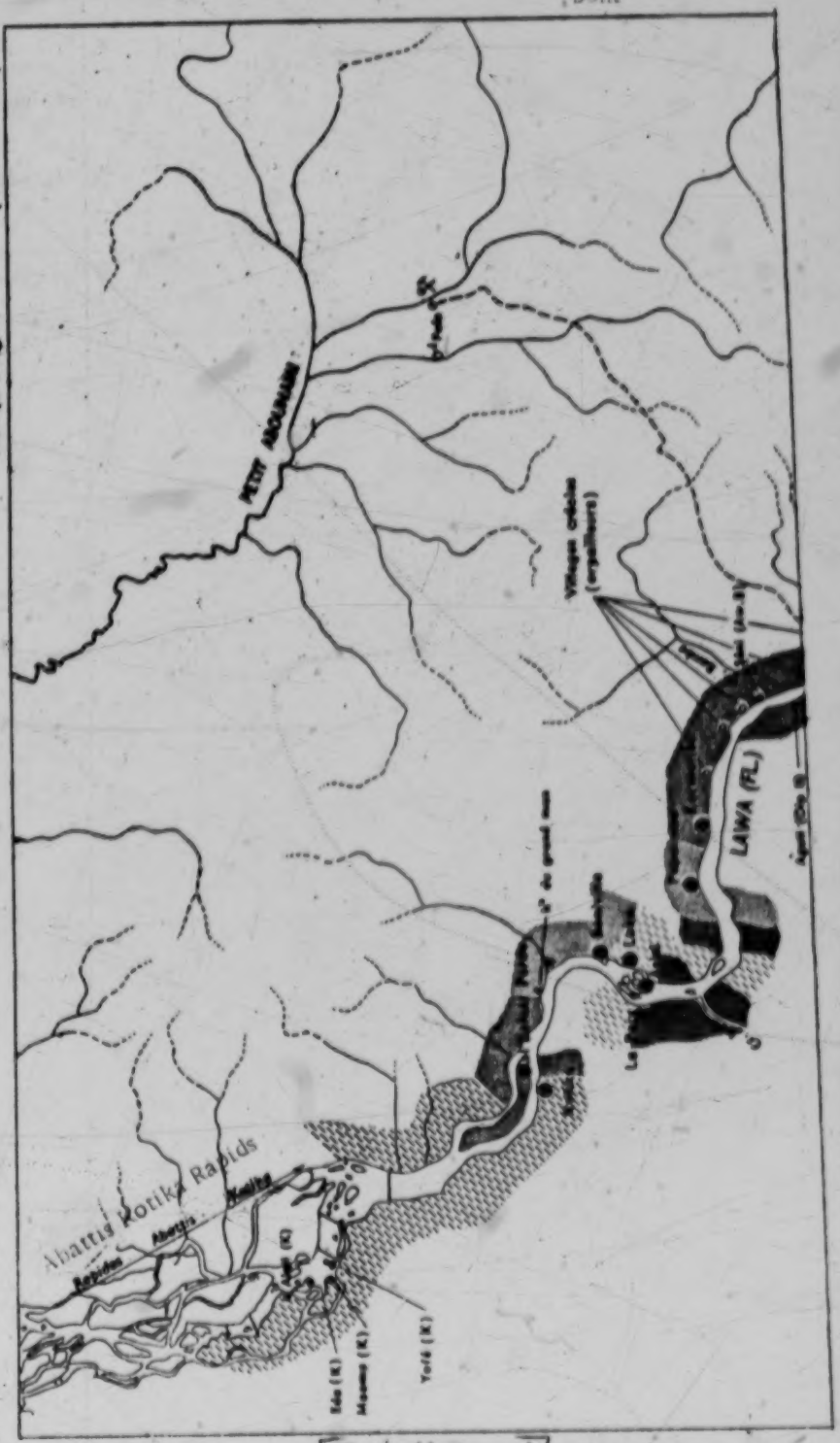
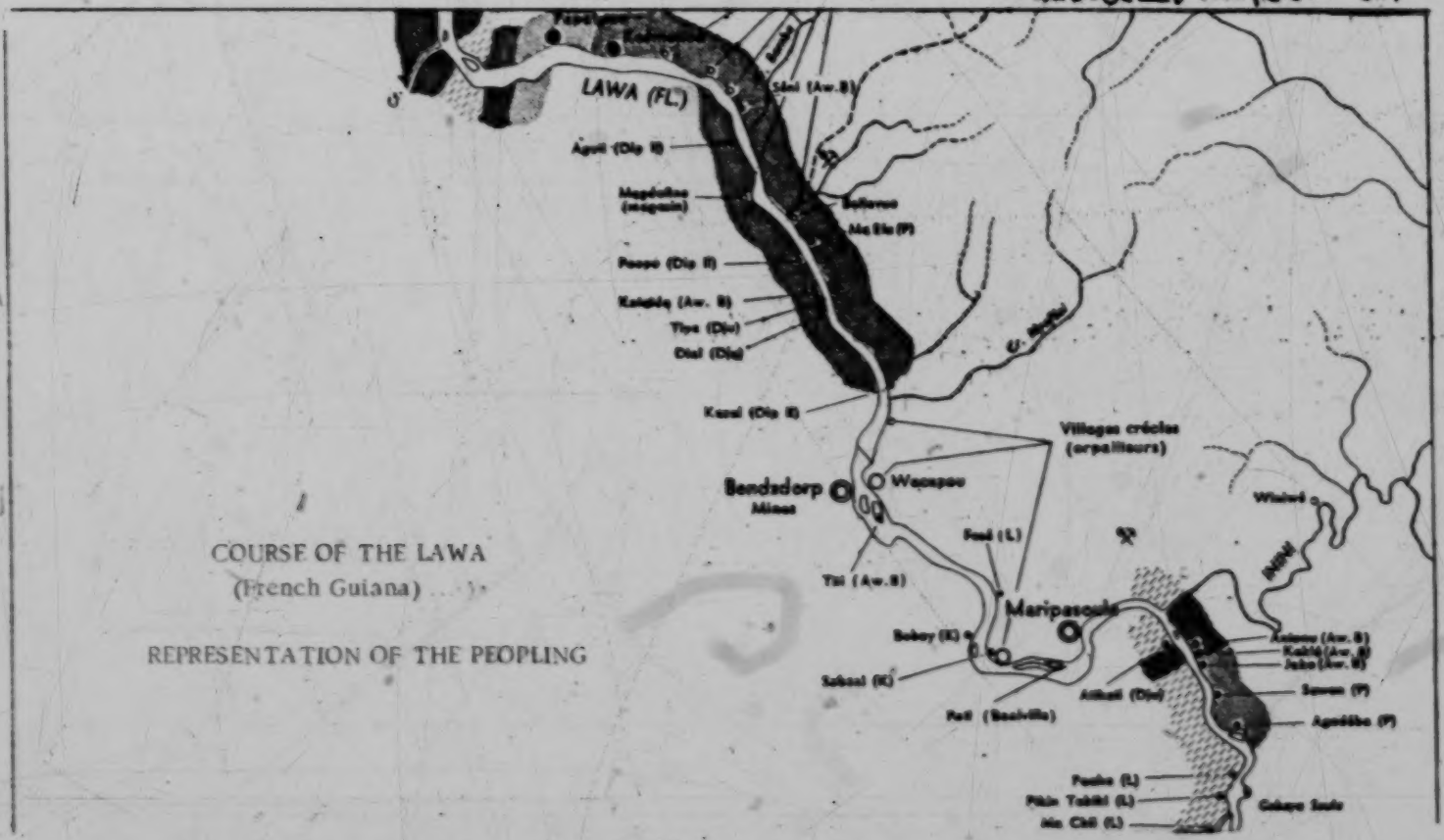


[End Map-A]



COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

End Map - B

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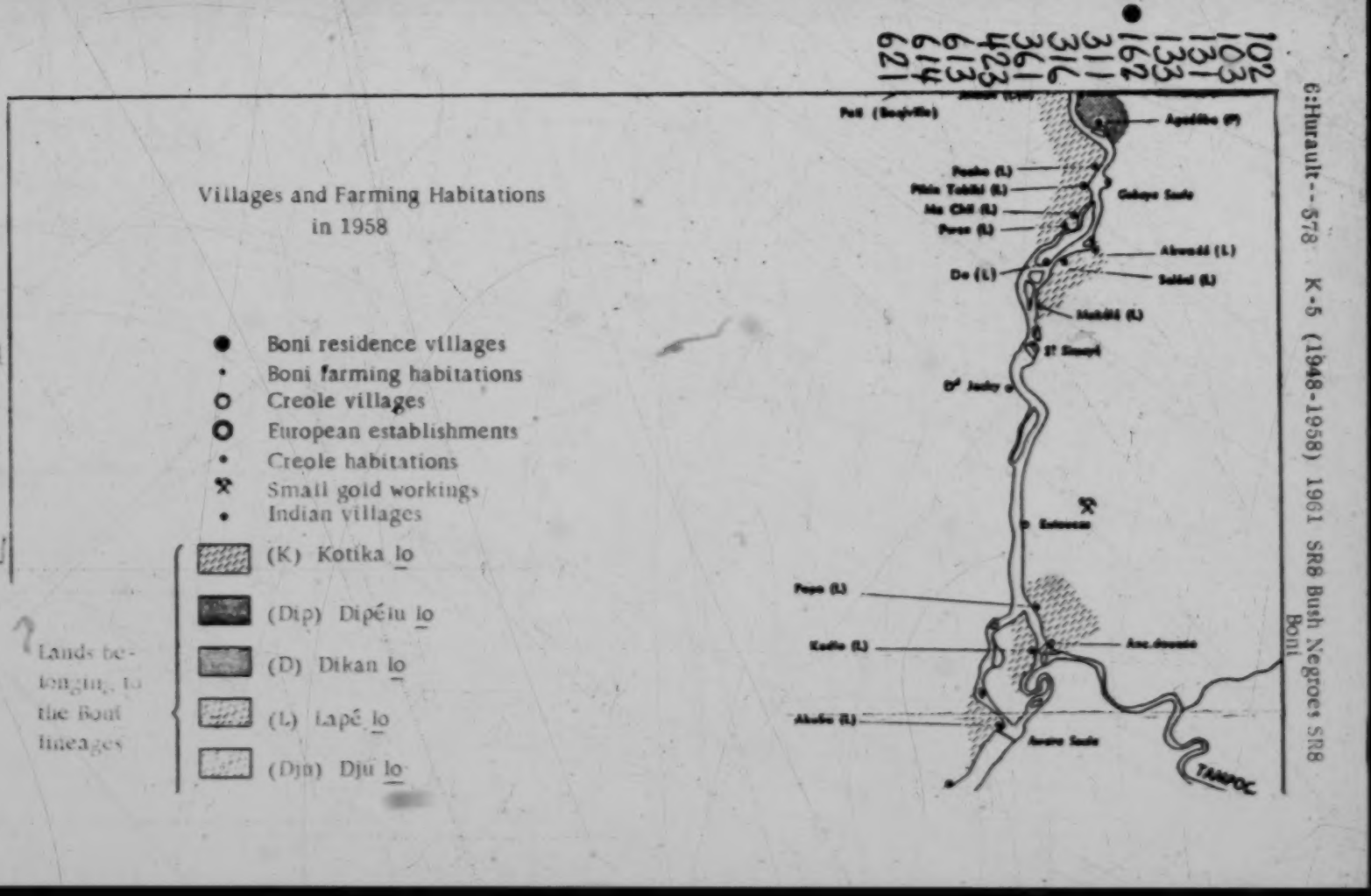
6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni


Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958
Boni residence villages
Boni farming habitations
Creole villages
European establishments
Creole habitations
Small gold workings
Indian villages
(K) Kotika lo
(Dip) Dipéiu lo
(D) Dikan lo
(L) Lapé lo
(Djn) Dju lo
Lands belonging to the Boni lineages
Agodiko (P)
Pedro (L)
Pikin Tobiki (L)
Ma Chil (L)
Pero (L)
Cukuye Soulo
Abwaka (L)
Do (L)
Soloni (L)
Mokiki (L)
St Joseph
Pepo (L)
Kodio (L)
Akudo (L)
Awara Soulo
TAMPOC
6:Hurault--578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

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133
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316
361
423
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614
621

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

(D) Dikan lo

(L) Lapé lo

(Dju) Dju lo

(Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo

(P) Papaïston lo

Scale 1/200.000

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km.

Indians Oyapock

Tampoc

Utani

Tabiapa (Papaïston)

6:Hurault--673 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni